

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 08246 01 OF 02 111724Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 088029

O 111544Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6125

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 8246

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, GR, TU, US

SUBJECT: AEGEAN DISPUTE: DISCUSSION WITH CARAMANLIS

REFS: (A) ATHENS 8156 (NOTAL) (B) ANKARA 6153 (NOTAL)
 (C) STATE 197290 (NOTAL) (D) STATE 197285 (NOTAL)
 (E) USUN 3164 (NOTAL)

1. PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS SENT WORD TO ME THIS MORNING THAT HE WISHED TO MEET WITH ME PRIVATELY "ON THE USUAL BASIS." ACCORDINGLY, I MET WITH HIM AT HIS PERSONAL APARTMENT EARLY THIS AFTERNOON, MOLYVIATIS BEING THE ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT. (COMMENT TO INFO ADDRESSEES: ALTHOUGH INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS TELEGRAM MAY BE DRAWN UPON AS APPROPRIATE, NO SPECIFIC REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO FOREIGN NATIONALS ABOUT THIS PRIVATE MEETING WITH CARAMANLIS.)

2. CARAMANLIS SAID HE WANTED TO REVIEW WITH ME THE "DANGEROUS ADVENTURE" BY THE TURKS WITH THE SISMIL IN THE AEGEAN. HE SAID HE WAS AWARE FROM OUR PREVIOUS EXCHANGES THAT WE DIFFERED WITH GREECE ON SOME OF THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 08246 01 OF 02 111724Z

LEGAL QUESTIONS SURROUNDING COASTAL STATES' RIGHTS WITH

RESPECT TO THE CONTINENTAL SHELF BUT HE SAID THE MATTER HAD NOW GONE WELL BEYOND SIMPLY LEGAL OR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ISSUES. TURKEY HAD NOW ACKNOWLEDGED PUBLICLY THAT IT WAS CONDUCTING SEISMIC RESEARCH IN AREAS BEING "DISPUTED" WITH GREECE AND THUS TURKEY'S ACTIONS COULD NOW BE CONSIDERED TO BE A PROVOCATION OF GREECE. IF THE SHELF AREAS WERE IN DISPUTE, CARAMANLIS SAID, THE PROPER THING TO DO WAS TO FIND AND FOLLOW A PEACEFUL MEANS OF SETTLING THE DISPUTE, SUCH AS THROUGH BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS OR RECOURSE TO AN APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL BODY SUCH AS THE WORLD COURT. INSTEAD, TURKEY WAS UNILATERALLY MAKING INCURSIONS INTO THE DISPUTED AREAS.

3. CARAMANLIS SAID HE WAS UNDER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE BY THE GREEK MILITARY AND THE GREEK POPULATION GENERALLY TO ACT "WITH FORCE ON THE SPOT." THE LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION PARTIES--PARTICULARLY PAPANDREOU--WERE SAYING TO SOME OF THE YOUNGER MILITARY OFFICERS THAT CARAMANLIS WAS "BETRAYING" THE COUNTRY'S INTERESTS. CARAMANLIS REFERRED TO THE SECRETARY'S REPORTED STATEMENT IN DEAUVILLE YESTERDAY THAT THE MATTER DID NOT JUSTIFY "MILITARY" ACTION. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT THIS HAD THE EFFECT OF GIVING A "GREEN LIGHT" TO TURKEY AND HE WAS AFRAID IT WOULD ENCOURAGE THE TURKS TO CONTINUE THEIR PROVOCATIONS OF GREECE BY PERFORMING SEISMIC RESEARCH ON CONTINENTAL SHELF AREAS CLAIMED BY GREECE.

4. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD DECIDED TO DO HIS UTMOST TO SOLVE THE MATTER PEACEFULLY AND THEREFORE HIS GOVERNMENT HAD PROPOSED TO TAKE THE MATTER TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ALSO TO THE WORLD COURT. HE SAID HE HAD DONE THIS TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO GREECE'S ALLIES, AND ESPECIALLY THE US, TO RESTRAIN TURKEY AND AVERT A DISASTER IN THE AEGEAN WHILE THERE WAS STILL TIME. "I HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL," CARAMANLIS SAID, "IN AVERTING THE CRISIS FOR THE TIME BEING, BUT THIS OPPORTUNITY MUST BE USED CORRECTLY." HE SAID HE REALIZED THE US HAD NO TREATY OR LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY TO DEFEND GREECE AGAINST TURKEY BUT HE BELIEVED THE US HAD IMPORTANT REASONS FOR DESIRING GREEK FRIENDSHIP AND IN AVERTING A SERIOUS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 08246 01 OF 02 111724Z

CRISIS AND POSSIBLY WAR IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. "IF THE US GOVERNMENT MAKES THE MISTAKE OF NOT SUPPORTING GREECE," CARAMANLIS SAID, "A SITUATION WILL BE CREATED WHICH COULD WELL BE BEYOND MY ABILITY TO CONTROL." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE SOMETIMES HAD THE FEELING THAT THE USG DID NOT TREAT GREECE AS WELL OR AS EQUITABLY AS IT WOULD LIKE TO BECAUSE OF A FEAR OF HURTING "TURKISH FEELINGS." HE HAD NO RIGHT TO GIVE US ADVICE ON US POLICY, HE SAID,

BUT BASED ON HIS EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE HE BELIEVED OUR POLICY TOWARDS TURKEY WAS NOT THE CORRECT ONE. "IF ONE DOES NOT REACT IMMEDIATELY AND FIRMLY AT THE VERY FIRST MOMENT AGAINST BLACKMAIL," CARAMANLIS SAID, "ONE BECOMES A PRISONER OF THAT BLACKMAIL." IF TURKEY IS SUCCESSFUL WITH THIS "BLACKMAIL" IN THE AEGEAN--PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF ITS BRUTAL ACTIONS ON CYPRUS--TURKEY WILL BE A CONTINUING PROBLEM NOT ONLY FOR GREECE BUT FOR THE US, ITS NATO PARTNERS, AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, FOR THE INDEFINITE FUTURE.

5. IN THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, CARAMANLIS SAID, THE US WOULD HAVE A CHANCE TO SUPPORT A "RIGHT CAUSE," THEREBY SERVING THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND THE WESTERN ALLIANCE, AND HELPING GREECE AND, ALTHOUGH INDIRECTLY, EVEN TURKEY ITSELF. THE OUTCOME OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE WOULD HAVE A VERY GREAT EFFECT ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE GREEK PEOPLE, AND THIS OUTCOME WOULD DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE POSITION TAKEN BY THE USG. CARAMANLIS SAID HE NEVER LIKED TO ASK FOR FAVORS AND SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS BUT FELT IT HIS DUTY TO EXPRESS TO US HIS HOPE THAT THE US WOULD NOT "COUNTEenance A SECOND HUMILIATION OF GREECE." CARAMANLIS SAID "YOU HAVE SAID THAT THE USG HAS A DIFFERENT OPINION FROM OURSELVES ON THE LEGAL QUESTIONS INVOLVED--EVEN THOUGH I HAVE GIVEN YOU A PAPER CONTAINING AUTHORITATIVE LEGAL OPINIONS BY QUALIFIED AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS. BUT LET US LEAVE THE LEGAL QUESTIONS ASIDE BECAUSE NOW THAT THE TURKS HAVE ACTED BY GOING INTO AND PERFORMING RESEARCH IN DISPUTED AREAS, THE PROBLEM IS NOW A POLITICAL ONE AND THE US SHOULD MAKE ITS POLICY AND ACT ACCORDINGLY." CARAMANLIS WAS INTERRUPTED BY AN URGENT TELEPHONE CALL TO INFORM HIM, AS HE SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED ME, THAT THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ATHENS 08246 01 OF 02 111724Z

SISMIK HAD AGAIN AT 11 O'CLOCK THIS MORNING GONE APPROXIMATELY EIGHT MILES INTO AN AREA CLAIMED BY GREECE AS OVER ITS CONTINENTAL SHELF AND THAT IN ADDITION TWO TURKISH MILITARY AIRCRAFT HAD ENTERED GREEK AIR SPACE IN WESTERN THRACE WITHOUT CLEARANCE OF AUTHORIZATION, FLYING AT AN ALTITUDE OF APPROXIMATELY 300 METERS FOR SEVERAL MILES OVER GREEK TERRITORY. "HOW AND WHEN CAN WE PUT A STOP TO THESE PROVOCATIONS?" CARAMANLIS ASKED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ATHENS 08246 02 OF 02 111758Z

45

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
----- 088315

O 111544Z AUG 76

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6126

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ATHENS 8246

EXDIS

6. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, CARAMANLIS SAID HE VERY MUCH HOPED THAT A "REASONABLE" RESOLUTION COULD BE ADOPTED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, A RESOLUTION THAT WOULD CALL UPON THE PARTIES "TO CEASE RESEARCHES" IN THE DISPUTED AREAS, TO BEGIN A DIALOGUE TO TRY AND RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS THROUGH PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO TAKE UNRESOLVED POINTS TO THE WORLD COURT FOR ITS CONSIDERATION. HE SAID HE HOPED THAT APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE ISSUED TO THE US REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK TO COOPERATE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BITSIOS AND GREEK REPRESENTATIVES TO ACCOMPLISH THIS.

7. I TOLD CARAMANLIS THAT I WAS CERTAIN US OFFICIALS WOULD BE PREPARED TO COOPERATE AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE WITH GREECE TO TRY AND DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM. DRAWING ON THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE OF YESTERDAY TO BITSIOS (REF C), I TOLD CARAMANLIS THAT AS WE WERE DOING WITH GREECE, WE HAVE ALSO BEEN URGING THE UTMOST RESTRAINT ON THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT IN DEALING WITH THE AEGEAN ISSUE. I TOLD HIM OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION THAT RESEARCH BY THE SISMIK DID NOT AFFECT THE LEGAL CLAIMS OF EITHER COUNTRY WITH
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 08246 02 OF 02 111758Z

RESPECT TO THE SHELF AND ALSO OF OUR UNDERSANDING THAT

TURKISH RESEARCH DID NOT INVOLVE ANY PHYSICAL CONTACT WITH THE SEABED. WITH RESPECT TO THE SECRETARY'S REPORTED REMARK YESTERDAY IN DEAUVILLE, I REFERRED TO THE SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO BITSIOS, EXPRESSING THE VIEW THAT THERE ARE AMPLE MEASURES GREECE COULD USE TO PROTECT ITS LEGAL POSITION WITHOUT RESORTING TO FORCE. I SAID I UNDERSTOOD THE SECRETARY WAS CONTACTING THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AGAIN TO URGE RESTRAINT AND THAT WE ALSO EXPECTED GREECE TO EXERCISE SIMILAR RESTRAINT AND FIND A PEACEFUL MEANS TO SETTLE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

8. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT I REMINDED HIM OF THE MESSAGE SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES HAD SENT TO BOTH GREECE AND TURKEY TWENTY YEARS AGO WHEN GREEKS "WERE BEING SLAUGHTERED IN CONSTANTINOPLE" BY TURKS. DULLES HAD CALLED UPON BOTH PARTIES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT, CARAMANLIS SAID. WHY COULD WE NOT UNDERSTAND, HE INQUIRED RHETORICALLY, THAT GREECE WAS NOT PROVOKING TURKEY, WAS NOT MAKING INCURSIONS INTO DISPUTED AREAS, WAS NOT PERFORMING RESEARCH OVER TURKISH-CLAIMED SHELF, AND WAS NOT INTENDING TO USE MILITARY FORCE? THE PROBLEMS THAT EXISTED IN THE AEGEAN WERE OF TURKISH MAKING AND AS A RESULT OF TURKISH INITIATIVES. EVEN SO, GREECE HAD PROPOSED VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES FOR DEALING WITH THE DISPUTES PEACEFULLY AND EQUITABLY, BUT TURKEY REFUSED TO COOPERATE.

9. CARAMANLIS REPEATED THAT THE OPPORTUNITY EXISTED NOW TO FIND A PEACEFUL WAY OUT OF THE AEGEAN ISSUE AND HE ONCE AGAIN REQUESTED US SUPPORT OF THE GREEK POSITION IN THE FORTHCOMING SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE MATTER. I TOLD HIM THAT I WOULD REPORT OUR DISCUSSION FULLY AND THAT ALTHOUGH MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE USG HAD NOT YET TAKEN A FINAL POSITION ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION OF THE MATTER, IT SEEMED EXCEEDINGLY DOUBTFUL TO ME THAT WE WOULD COME OUT "IN SUPPORT" OF GREECE'S POSITION. MORE LIKELY, I SAID, I EXPECTED THE US NOT TO TAKE A POSITION ON THE MERITS OF THE DISPUTE AND TO AVOID TAKING SIDES, AT THE SAME TIME TRYING TO BE HELPFUL TO ALL THE PARTIES IN FINDING A MUTUALLY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 08246 02 OF 02 111758Z

ACCEPTABLE FORMULA FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT IF SUCH A FORMULA COULD BE FOUND IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL "THEN I AM ALSO READY TO START A DIRECT DIALOGUE AND GIVE SATISFACTION TO TURKISH CLAIMS WHERE THEY ARE REASONABLE."

10. AS I WAS LEAVING HIS APARTMENT, I ASKED MOLYVIATIS WHAT CARAMANLIS HAD MEANT BY SAYING HE WAS READY "TO

START A DIRECT DIALOGUE AND GIVE SATISFACTION" TO TURKEY. MOLYVIATIS SAID THAT THAT STATEMENT WAS BY FAR THE MOST IMPORTANT THING CARAMANLIS HAD SAID TO ME AND THAT THERE WAS "A LOT BEHIND IT." HE SAID THAT CARAMANLIS WAS LOOKING FOR A POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE WAY TO EXTRICATE BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH GOVERNMENTS FROM THE CURRENT AEGEAN CRISIS. IF SOME REASONABLE FORMULA COULD BE FOUND IN NEW YORK THROUGH CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND OTHER KEENLY INTERESTED PARTIES, THEN A CONCEIVABLE RESULT COULD BE A FACE-TO-FACE MEETING BETWEEN PRIME MINISTERS CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL. MOLYVIATIS SAID THAT CARAMANLIS WOULD BE READY TO GO "ALMOST ANYWHERE AND AT ANY TIME" TO MEET WITH DEMIREL. HOWEVER, HE WAS AFRAID THAT BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN TURKEY, DEMIREL MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO HAVE SUCH A MEETING OR NOT BE IN A POSITION TO COMPROMISE OR NEGOTIATE WITH CARAMANLIS TO ACHIEVE SIGNIFICANT RESULTS. "IF DEMIREL IS READY AND ABLE TO TALK" MOLYVIATIS SAID, "SO IS CARAMANLIS. IF DEMIREL IS NOT, THEN HE SHOULD LET THINGS CALM DOWN WITH GREECE--AND NOT UNDERTAKE AGGRESSIVE MOVES AGAINST US. CARAMANLIS CAN, IF NECESSARY, WAIT FOR TURKISH ELECTIONS--AND COULD EVEN DO SOME THINGS THAT WOULD BE OF SIGNIFICANT HELP TO DEMIREL IN SUCH ELECTIONS." WE PARTED WITH MOLYVIATIS SAYING THAT BITSIOS WOULD BE PRESSING FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON THE SUBJECT TOMORROW OR FRIDAY-- "WE CANNOT WAIT FOR CAGLAYANGIL FOREVER,"--THEREFORE, IT WAS HIGHLY IMPORTANT THAT THE US AND OTHER ALLIES OF GREECE AND TURKEY COOPERATE ENERGETICALLY AND IMAGINATIVELY TO TRY AND ASSURE A GOOD RESOLUTION AND FAVORABLE OUTCOME. OTHERWISE, HE SAID, THE WORST OF THE CRISIS IS STILL AHEAD.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ATHENS 08246 02 OF 02 111758Z

11. COMMENT: POPULAR FEELINGS ON THIS MATTER ARE RUNNING HIGH IN GREECE, AND I URGE THAT ANY PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY US OFFICIALS AT THE UN BE FRAMED WITH THIS IN MIND. EVEN-HANDEDNESS AND IMPARTIALITY ON OUR PART AS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY WILL INEVITABLY BE SEEN HERE--"GIVEN WHAT THE TURKS HAVE DONE ON CYPRUS AND ARE NOW DOING IN THE AEGEAN"--AS A PRO-TURKISH POSTURE ON OUR PART. IN ADDITION TO DEFUSING THE CRISIS, I HOPE WE CAN GET THROUGH THE SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE WITH A MINIMUM OF INJURY TO THE IMPROVED US-GREEK RELATIONSHIP WE HAVE SO PAINSTAKINGLY REBUILT OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. KUBISCH

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TERRITORIAL WATERS, DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, AEGEAN
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 AUG 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: BoyleJA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ATHENS08246
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760309-0433
From: ATHENS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760866/aaaacfmr.tel
Line Count: 328
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 ATHENS 8156, 76 ANKARA 6153, 76 STATE 197290, 76 STATE 197285, 76 USUN NEW YORK 3164
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: BoyleJA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <04 AUG 2004 by BoyleJA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AEGEAN DISPUTE: DISCUSSION WITH CARAMANLIS
TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, GR, TU, US, (CARAMANLIS, CONSTANTINE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006